were always slain in war, and it is to be assumed that polygyny was made possible through the surplus of women. ~~by this.~~ Thus caused. The great majority of men had only a single wife, some chiefs had two, but only ~~a x chief~~ one of great importance could hope to aspire to more, ~~while~~ and the case of Potlas was considered to be unique and highly desirable.

A chief's wives always lived in the same house, and it is said that disputes were frequent. The evidence seems clear that polygyny did not usually bring the domestic bliss which was expected, though this never deterred a man from taking a second wife if he could. The only special rule of incest in this regard was that two sisters could not be married at the same time.

It was assumed that the institution of true polyandry did not exist, when, unexpectedly, information was volunteered about its occurrence in the families of influential men. A very powerful chief, if his only child was a daughter, quite ~~frequently~~ commonly married her simultaneously to the sons of other chiefs. She was thus considered ~~indeed~~ most fortunate, since only a wealthy man could provide for a daughter in this way, and ~~xxxxxx~~ expend the large quantities of goods necessary to ensure her proper marriage in each case. The husbands were never brothers, and seldom related, since the ambitious parent wished to ally his daughter with different ancestral families for the benefit of any resultant children. The joint wife was accustomed to live for a number of months in the home of one of her husbands, with her other husbands forming part of his household. She would then move to the house of another, ~~husband,~~ who assumed the leadership of the group, ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ with the others, ~~xx~~ including the one who had just

as followers.
been leader. It is said that there was seldom friction among the joint husbands, since each realised that his turn would come to be leader, and meanwhile the wife endeavoured to share her favors indiscriminately. The children were considered equally the offspring of each husband, thus automatically assuming membership in the ancestral family of each. Such a child was considered indeed fortunate, and to have been provided with every potential means of assitance in the struggle of life.

Recognising its importance, the writer made every effort to verify this statement. Further questioning elicited the information that my informant had never known a case of this kind, though he claimed that when a young man he had often heard of it and that the custom had only recently died out. Another old man and an elderly woman confirmed the above statement almost word for word, and each added that it was well known when they were young, though they had never actually seen an instance. One informant believed that the custom had formerly prevailed in several parts of the coast, and that he had heard of its occurrence among the "Kwatcino" people near Newitte. Considering the reliability of his informants, the writer gives as his personal belief that the institution of polyandry among the daughters of chiefs occurred in Bella Coola not many years ago. He believes that the knowledge of the term of address for co-husband, already given (1), is strong evidence in support of this view. At the same time, he realises that knowledge based on hearsay is not entirely satisfactory. Every effort was made while collecting information to confirm and re-confirm every statement, and where this is any doubt he feels that it is only fair to the reader to state the facts, and allow him to draw his own conclusions.

Discreditable Marriages.

Since it has been assumed that Y. is the daughter of a chief, properly married, with due formality, it is necessary to digress still further from the account of her relations with X. to describe alliances of a less creditable nature. The most common of these was with slaves. Though frowned upon by all Bella Coola ethics, such alliances, of a permanent nature, do not appear to have been rare. Sometimes it was a man who thus demeaned himself, sometimes a woman. Since no slave

could provide the goods necessary for an elaborate wedding, the ceremony usually consisted only of the man and woman living together. In theory, this prevented the children from ever obtaining a name or other prerogative embodied in the ancestral myth of the free-born parent, and an effort was always made to conceal from them the details of the ancestral family's origin myth. But, as already described in the section dealing with slaves, the expenditure of valuable presents served to wash away, or at least to cover the blot. If the child succeeded in giving many potlatches, the stain was generally forgotten. On the other hand, if the child of a slave-free man matriage be not washed, he can always be shamed by a reminder of the disgrace of his parents' wedding.

In case of murder the son or other near relative of the victim sometimes accepts a daughter or other member of the offender's family instead of exacting blood revenge. The bride is delivered to her husband with valuable goods "to wash away the blood", but these never suffice to wipe entirely the disgrace from her or her children. The latter may inherit names and prerogatives from their father, but even if they attain to the position of chiefs, they can always be put to shame by reference to the fact that their mother was married to atone for murder. Of course the influence of a great chief would make it impolitic thus to refer to his ancestry, but there are few instance of men having reached such a position of eminence that the blot is practically forgotten. The wife's family must continue to give presents to the husband for years after marriage, otherwise her lot is indeed unenviable, and her children would only have the status of the unwashed offspring of a slave and a free-man. Sometimes am marriage of this type is entered upon years after a murder, if a son or other descendant wishes to end the anxiety of constantly expecting the exaction of blood revenge.

Repurchase of the Wife.

In this section it is possible to return to the instance of X. and Y., since the repurchase of a wife is the necessary consequence of every reputable Bella Coola marriage. It is assumed that the presents given by X.'s relatives before and at the wedding have exceeded in value those which they have received. Later,

whenever, and as often as, X. gives a potlatch Y.'s relatives are expected to "re-buy" her fromher husband. Although this is the expression used by the Bella Coola, it has admittedly only a ceremonial significance since Y. remains X.'s wife. But the repurchase serves three purposes:—

1. It provides goods wherewith X. is able to give potlatches and so reach a position of influence. The Bella Coola believe that a man is helpless without the support of his wife's realtives; this factor is important in choosing a wife.

2. It enables Y. and her realtives to increase their importance since the sums contributed by them are publicly announced.

3. It gives strength to the offspring. A child whose mother has not been rebought from his father is said to be unable to walk, as if there was no strength to his legs or sense to his movements. From the petty feuds of childhood to old age, he can always be shamed by a reminder that his mother was not repurchased. The more often this is done, the better it is for the children.

Whenever it is known that he is going to give a potlatch, Y. and her relatives begin to hoard goods. Their actual value is unregulated by custom, although the individuals concerned always try to give as much as they can. Usually X. does not know exactly how much will be provided until the actual delivery of goods at the potlatch. Moreover, this is the occasion most preferred by X the relatives of a wife to present to her husband ancestral names or other prerogatives embodied in origin myths. The exact rights of X. with respect to such gifts has already been defined (1) so need not here be repeated. Even if Y. has taken an ancient name to her husband when she was married, she frequently brings him another when repurchased. This is perhaps an event of even greater importance to the woman than marriage, so no effort is spared to add to the dignity of the occasion.

On the night of (2) Y.'s father announces what prerogatives he proposes to grant to X. It may be the right to a certain totem-pole design, the carving of a spoon, a painting for the wall of the house, or any other element embodied

(1) See page .
(2) See page .

in the origin myth. These prerogatives are displayed by X. at the coming potlatch. If, as is usual, Y.'s father wishes to give his son-in-law an ancestral name, it is announced on this occasion and is the designation by which X. is known during the ceremony. It is always said that such a name is so "heavy", in the sense of "so important" that it must be "dragged across" to her husband by Y. The rights of X. to this name are the identical with those described for names "dragged across" at marriage, so need not here be repeated. Kusiut names are frequently transferred as presents, but without any public bestowal. One or two instances are known of the acquisition of a similar sook prerogatives and whistles; it was in this way that Potł a was able to import a sook ritual from Bella Bella. After announcing the prerogatives he is transmitting, Y.'s father usually takes the opportunity of stating that he wishes to hunt on X.'s hunting-grounds, or fish in his fishing-grounds. Permission is never refused, though it is only for the period of the potlatch. Since X. is to assist Y. it is considered fitting to grant X.'s father facilities for obtaining pelts and food.

On the afternoon of the second day of the potlatch, when X. and his relatives are waiting within the house (1) the goods contributed by Y.'s relatives are sent in. They are counted, and the announcement made of their quantity. The herald then cries out:—

"Y.'s father is without. He has come to rebuy his daughter," and he is invited to enter.

If a number of individuals are associated with him in providing the goods, their names, with relationship to Y., is announced. One instance is known of a woman who, being an orphan without relatives, acquired the goods to repurchase herself by her own arduous toil. In this case the announcement was made:—

"Y.'s belt has come to rebuy her."

The reference was to the manner in which she had fastened up her loose clothing with a belt when working. If a man dies when about to rebuy his daughter, the goods amassed by him are used for this purpose and the announcement made:—

"Y.'s father's name has come to rebuy her."

The first people to come to earth at Smuth used a